

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-25

INFO OCT-01 IO-14 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-07 H-03 INR-10

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USIA-15 CU-04 ACDA-19 OMB-01 SAJ-01 OIC-04 DRC-01

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P R 111420Z MAR 74

FM AMEMBASSY HELSINKI

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 7258

USMISSION GENEVA

INFO AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

USMISSION NATO

AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN

AMEMBASSY OSLO

AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM

C O N F I D E N T I A L HELSINKI 0501

GENEVA FOR US CSCE DEL

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, XG, FI

SUBJECT: CSCE: CURRENT FINNISH THINKING ON CSCE
DEVELOPMENTS, TIMING AND LEVEL OF THIRD
STAGE

REF: (A) HELSINKI 0175 (B) GENEVA 971 (C) GENEVA 1560
(D) KORHONEN-CLEMENT MEMCON 2/28/74

SUMMARY: THE FINNS ARE BETTING THAT CSCE STATE III
WILL TAKE PLACE DURING FIRST TEN DAYS OF JULY WITH
MAINLY "HIGHEST LEVEL" PARTICIPANTS, AND ARE PROCEEDING
WITH ADMINISTRATIVE PLANNING ON THAT BASIS. ON
CONFERENCE "FOLLOW-ON" THEY ARE THINKING MORE IN
TERMS OF ANOTHER CONFERENCE AT SOME POINT IN FUTURE
RATHER THAN ANY NEW CONTINUING ORGANIZATION.

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END SUMMARY.

1. THE EMBASSY HAS TAKEN DUE NOTE OF THIRD SENTENCE IN REFTEL (C). THIS MESSAGE IS IN RESPONSE TO SECOND SENTENCE OF SAME REFTEL, AS WELL AS A FOLLOW-UP ON REFTEL (A).

2. DURING DISCUSSION LAST WEEK ON OTHER MATTERS WITH FONMIN POLITICAL SECTION CHIEF, TUOVINEN RAISED CSCE WITH POLITICAL OFFICER IN A FOLLOW-UP TO HIS DISCUSSION SUBJECT WITH DCM REPORTED REFTEL (A). IN RESPONDING TO TUOVINEN, POLITICAL OFFICER FOLLOWED LONG-STANDING US POLICY LINE AS SUMMARIZED IN PARA 3 OF REFTEL (B), ADDING THAT WORK SEEMED TO BE PROGRESSING ON DRAFTING MORE OR LESS SATISFACTORILY, BUT THAT BOTH OUTSTANDING UNRESOLVED QUESTIONS AND SHEER MASS OF WORKLOAD MEANT THAT MUCH STILL NEEDED TO BE DONE TO MEET END OF MAY "DEADLINE" FOR STAGE II.

3. TUOVINEN EMPHASIZED THAT THE FINNS HAD INSISTED ON THE PARTICIPATION OF BOTH THE US AND CANADA FROM THE BEGINNING, BOTH BECAUSE THEY FELT THAT WE HAD LEGITIMATE INTERESTS AT STAKE AND THE RIGHT TO PARTICIPATE, AND BECAUSE WE WERE NEEDED AS A BALANCE. (COMMENT: THE INFERENCE BEING THAT THE FINNS WOULD LIKE TO SEE THE US PLAY AN EVEN MORE DIRECT AND FORCEFUL ROLE AT STAGE II; OR, PUT ANOTHER WAY, A VARIATION ON THE THEME OF FINNISH CONCERN OVER A US-SOVIET "DEAL" BROUGHT UP BY TUOVINEN'S DEPUTY IN CONVERSATION REPORTED IN REFTEL (D)). POLITICAL OFFICER COUNTERED BY SAYING THAT THE US HAD CERTAINLY PLAYED AN ACTIVE AND CONSTRUCTIVE ROLE AND WOULD UNDOUBTEDLY CONTINUE TO DO SO.

4. CONCERNING QUESTION OF FOLLOW-UP MECHANISM, TUOVINEN SAID THAT FINNS TOOK THE POSITION THAT THE THREE STAGES SHOULD BE LOOKED UPON AS A SEPARATE AND COMPLETE "ROUND," AND THAT ANY FOLLOW-UP SHOULD BE CONFIDENTIAL

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BE IN THE FORM OF ANOTHER CONFERENCE A FEW YEARS HENCE RATHER THAN ANY FORMAL FOLLOW-UP ORGANIZATION. TUOVINEN FELT THAT THERE WERE ALREADY ENOUGH ORGANIZATIONS AND FORA AT WHICH QUESTIONS OF IMPLEMENTATION COULD BE BROUGHT UP INTERMITTENTLY.

5. ON MATTER OF TIMING AND LEVEL OF STAGE III, TUOVINEN SAID THAT THE FINNS HAD TO START PLANNING,

EVEN THOUGH REMAINING UNCERTAINTIES (WHICH HE SAW PRIMARILY IN TOUGH POSITIONS BEING TAKEN BY YUGOSLAVS, ROMANIANS, AND DUTCH) MADE IT LIKE "BETTING ON A HORSE." THE FINNS, ACCORDING TO TUOVINEN, ARE BETTING THAT STAGE III WILL TAKE PLACE, THAT IT WILL BE NO MORE THAN FIVE DAYS DURING THE FIRST TEN DAYS OF JULY, AND THAT IT WILL BE LABELED "HIGHEST LEVEL," ALTHOUGH MANY COUNTRIES REPRESENTATIVES MAY TURN OUT TO BE OF "NEXT TO HIGHEST LEVEL" CATEGORY. THE FINNS HAVE ALREADY DECIDED TO COMMIT FUNDS AND PROCEED WITH THE EXPANSION AND IMPROVEMENT OF VIP AND PRESS FACILITIES AT THE HELSINKI AIRPORT, AND WITH BACK-UP ARRANGEMENTS FOR ACTIVITIES NOW SCHEDULED FOR FINLANDIA HALL CONFERENCE FACILITIES DURING JUNE/JULY.

6. TUOVINEN SEEMED RATHER RESIGNED TO AND PHILOSOPHICAL ABOUT THE THOUGHT THAT IN SOME CASES COUNTRIES WOULD NOT SEND THEIR NUMBER ONE, MENTIONING AMONG OTHER POSSIBLE NON-COMERS PRESIDENT POMPIDOU--WITHOUT APPEARING OVERLY CONCERNED ABOUT IT. IN CONNECTION WITH MUSING ABOUT US REPRESENTATION, TUOVINEN, IN WHAT SEEMED TO BE AN ATTEMPT TO CONVINCE HIMSELF, SAID ON THE ONE HAND THAT WITH AIR TRAVEL SO FAST THESE DAYS, PRESIDENT NIXON COMING OR NOT COMING NEED NOT BE TIED TO OTHER POSSIBLE TRIPS THAT THE PRESIDENT MIGHT MAKE TO EUROPE OR OTHER PLACES AND, ON THE OTHER HAND, THAT SECRETARY KISSINGER WAS IN ANY CASE ALSO A "SUPER STAR."

7. THE FINNISH NEWS BUREAU MOSCOW CORRESPONDENT IN A MARCH 7 STORY CLAIMS THAT WESTERN DIPLOMATS IN MOSCOW INTERPRET THE FINNISH-SOVIET KEKKONEN VISIT
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COMMUNIQUE (SEE REF (D)) TO MEAN THAT THE SOVIET DELEGATION TO STAGE III WILL BE LED BY BREZHNEV, AND THAT THE SOVIETS, IN THEIR ANXIETY TO CONCLUDE STAGE II AS QUICKLY AS POSSIBLE, WILL BE WILLING TO MAKE COMPROMISES ON BASKET III ISSUES.

8. FOREIGN MINISTER KARJALAINEN IN HIS MARCH 4 SPEECH TO THE PAASIKIVI FOREIGN AFFAIRS SOCIETY STATED THAT THE GENERAL ESTIMATE IS THAT STAGE II CAN BE FINISHED AT THE LATEST BY JUNE, WHICH IN TURN, ACCORDING TO KARJALAINEN, MEANT THAT STAGE III CAN BE HELD AT THE EARLIEST IN JULY, AND NO LATER THAN EARLY AUTUMN. AS TO THE LEVEL, KARJALAINEN REFERRED TO THE KEKKONEN VISIT COMMUNIQUE. KARJALAINEN ALSO, AFTER DESCRIBING FINNISH

POSITIVE CONTRIBUTIONS TO STAGE II, SAID THAT FINLAND HAD ENDEAVORED TO SPEED UP MATTERS BY RETAINING ITS POSITION AS AN ACCEPTABLE PRESENTER OF COMPROMISE SOLUTIONS. AT THE SAME TIME KARJALAINEN POINTED OUT THAT PROGRESS DEPENDS ON CONSENSUS AMONG THE 35 COUNTRIES PARTICIPATING, BUT ADDED THAT GREAT POWERS NATURALLY HAVE A GREATER IMPACT ON WHETHER POSITIVE OR NEGATIVE RESULTS COME ABOUT, AND SAID THAT FINLAND OBVIOUSLY HOPED THAT ALL PARTIES WOULD TRY TO ACT POSITIVELY. KARJALAINEN FINALLY NOTED THAT ALTHOUGH PROGRESS IN CSCE HAD A DIRECT INFLUENCE ON EUROPEAN DEVELOPMENTS FOR THE NEXT FEW YEARS, IT WOULD ALSO INDIRECTLY INFLUENCE THE GENERAL INTERNATIONAL CLIMATE.
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